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# The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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## Fighting in North Malaya

### NEW DEFENCE LINE TAKEN UP

The British retreat south of the river Krian in Malaya has increased the danger to Penang, it was stated in authoritative quarters in London on Thursday. Troops, south of Kedah, were successfully disengaged during the night and are now reorganizing south of the Krian river, which runs along the southern border of the Kedah province.

*Information reaching London shows that there was continuation of Japanese shelling and bombing of Hong Kong. British artillery dispersed Japanese troop concentrations and transport on the mainland and silenced two sections of artillery.*

A *communique* issued in Singapore on Thursday morning states:

"During the night our troops in South Kedah and the province of Wellesley successfully disengaged and are now reorganizing south of Singei Krian. Yesterday there was some fighting in the vicinity of Grik, but no enemy activity in that area was reported this morning. In Klantan, an attack on our position has been driven off with heavy casualties to the enemy. No enemy air activity was reported during the night."

Sungei Krian—the river Krian—mentioned in the Singapore *communique* flows about 30 miles south of the River Muda and forms the border between Kedah and Perak. Grik lies in northern Perak and is the terminus of the main road northwords towards the Thailand frontier.

### Raid on Penang

"During the period up to the early morning of December 16 in Malaya the enemy's main effort was still directed at North Malaya although there are possibilities of fresh landings on the coast being attempted," states Chunking Radio. During air-raids directed at Penang four enemy planes were shot down. Reports have been received that some Japanese troops are wearing civilian clothes in their attempts to infiltrate through the imperial defences.

### Border Incidents

The Army Headquarters in Burma issued a *communique* at 6-30 p.m. on Tuesday stating "One of our patrols on the Tenasserim border exchanged shots with the frontier post. There is nothing further to report."

### Allies Occupy Island In South Seas

It is learned in London that Dutch and Australian forces have entered Portuguese Timor.

It is added that the Allied forces which have entered Portuguese Timor will naturally be withdrawn as soon as conditions allow or the emergency ends.

### Hong Kong Holds On

Conditions of a full seige exit in Hong Kong. The colony is reported to be in good heart despite further bombardment by the Japanese. The Governor has been telegraphically instructed to hold on which he is doing.

## India's Part in the War

### Mr. JINNAH REITERATES LEAGUE STAND

Reiterating the All-India Muslim League's stand in regard to the prosecution of the war, Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a press interview at Bombay on Wednesday said that it was clear that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government desired India's wholehearted co-operation but merely demanded "obedience and slavish assistance without any real voice or share in the authority of the Government and the country's defence."

Mr, Jinnah referred to the grave international situation, particularly in relation to India, and said that the Muslim League by a resolution which it adopted in June, 1940, had tendered its advice to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government but unfortunately neither of them paid any serious heed to it but instead made an offer for the expansion of the Executive Council in August, 1940, which did not give any real share in the authority, power and control of the Government either at the Centre or in the provinces.

This offer, Mr. Jinnah recalled, beyond indicating the inclusion of two Muslim League members in the Council, gave no information regarding the total strength of the expanded Council the number of additional members, and the other parties which were going to be associated with it. No information was available as to what would happen to the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to come in. Furthermore, no information regarding the portfolios was furnished nor was the Muslim League told what was to happen in the provinces which were administered by Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act,

### "A Grave Mistake"

Mr. Jinnah added: "Therefore, we had no alternative but to express our inability to accept such an offer. Since then the Viceroy, ignoring the Muslim League, decided upon the expansion of his Executive Council and the setting up of the so-called National Defence Council, and has nominated individual members. This decision was a grave mistake and is to be regretted. From this it is clear that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government desire our wholehearted co-operation but they merely demand obedience and slavish assistance without any real voice or share in the authority of the Government of India or in the defence of India. In the circumstances we are entirely helpless."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah recalled the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in June, 1940. This resolution endorsed the Press statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on May 27, 1940, looked with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression, stated that the proposals indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation, and authorized the President of the League to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

*Special Article*

# Consent Essential To Unity-III

## SOUTH AFRICA & INDIA—A CONTRAST

*By* **M. R. T.**

AFTER Canada, the example of the union of South Africa can be cited as that of a British dominion which, despite its racial conflicts, was not finally denied the right to grow into a self-governing State within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A careful study of the past events, however, will reveal that the Union of South Africa was actually demanded by the British and Dutch settlers in their own interests. Cape Colony was originally a Dutch possession and finally passed into British hands after the Napoleonic War in 1814. British immigration proved a constant source of friction with the Dutch farmers, and this finally led to the *en masse* evacuation of the Dutch population which, in due course, founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic far away in the interior. The British in the meantime had settled in Cape Colony and Natal, both of which had attained the status of responsible governments. In 1902, the two Dutch Colonies were also annexed by Great Britain and were subsequently granted responsible government. Besides these four independent Crown Colonies, British influence was also responsible for the development and exploitation of vast territories farther north. Rhodesia which was greater in area than the four colonies taken together was under a chartered company while Nyassaland and Bechuanaland were British Protectorates.

### Union Desired

The Boer War had left much bitterness behind between the British and the Dutch, and it was now in the interest of Great Britain to follow a policy of appeasement towards the Dutch, On the basis of population the Dutch formed a majority of the white population in all the four Colonies combined and could have an effective voice in the centre if the four Colonies were united. Actually, they were in a majority in Transvaal and Orange Free State and held fairly their own in Cape Colony, while in Natal they commanded considerable influence. The Dutch began to feel that their entire number was under British protection, and that separately they could not improve their lot in the Colonies. Hence to protect their interests more effectively and to resist the growing interference in the internal affairs of each Colony, they desired union which could afford them far more effective protection than their separate existence under four independent colonies. They began to develop a common sentiment that they were all Africanders. The British Government on its part sought to encourage the movement for Union. It was guided in this object by some very weighty consideration. Firstly, the white population, being a minority of 10 % in the midst of native population, could not hold in check the danger of native risings or rebellions in future if it remained divided into four separate Colonies. A common front was needed to confine within proper limits the activities of natives in regard to agriculture, trade and acquisition of more lands and property. Scondly, the Dutch by being in a majority in the Union would be finally won over and reconciled and would agree to live as loyal subjects of the British Crown in a self-governing Dominion. It was also considered possible that in course of time after the Dutch and British inhabitants had fraternised as citizens of a common State, the steady flow of British immigrants would reduce the Dutch element to a minority and thus would finally secure the Dominion as a permanent home of the British people.

### Advantages

The Dutch were alive to the economic advantages of a Union as well. They hoped to play their part in the exploitation of British possessions in Rhodesia and Nyassaland. The lurement of a greater Union which would enclose within its limits the whole of South Africa was too much for them to resist. Hence in their own interests they became eager advocates for Union. Transvaal and Orange Free State had already been granted responsible self-government in 1906 with a bicameral legislature. In 1908, the Colonies expressed a desire for union, as distinct from federation. They agreed to accept the status of mere provinces, with a unitary constitution at the centre. The provinces were to have legislative councils, but their right to legislation was limited by the centre. The British Government embodied this desire in the Union Act of 1909.

It will thus appear that consent was considered as an essential fre-requisite to the grant of full self-government to South Africa. The Union would have never materialised and would have been indefinitely delayed if the Dutch had not felt it in their own interest to clamour for it. Their active consent and readiness to co-operate paved the way for the Act of Union.

### India's Case

India's case stands in a different footing from that of South Africa. Here the Muslims, unlike the Dutch, have no interest in a scheme of Union even under a federal constitution. In South Africa, the natives despite their numerical majority did not count, while the Dutch who formed the majority of white population were urged by a common sentiment to make their voice felt through the Union Government. The British settlers were equally desirous of union as they enjoyed the protection of Imperial Government. The Indian Muslims will neither have an effective voice in the Centre nor they can depend upon British Government for the protection of their interests. Hence separation of Muslim zones is the only possible solution to settle the communal question.

### No Federation

In one important respect the example of South Africa furnishes no parallel for India. The Union Government has no true federal character. The provinces of the Union exist at the mercy of the Parliament of the Union which frequently intereferes in the Provincial field. The Provinces in reality do not enjoy responsible government of the ordinary type but are administered by administrators appointed by the Union Government, and Committees elected on the principle of proportional representation by the elective Provincial Councils. Their legislation requires the assent of the Governor-General, and their acts may at any time be overridden by Union Acts. The Provinces have no control over the administration of Justice.

### Dutch Desire

It was the desire of the Dutch which finally prevailed, that the Union Government should be stronger than its Provinces, combined. They had a long-sighted policy in view. Their ultimate goal was complete independence within or without the British Empire. A strong Union Government, in their opinion, would successfully defend their interests against encroachments from British immigrants, native tribes or Imperial Government. Hence they preferred a unitary constitution to a federal one. Individual Provinces were made entirely subordinate to the Centre and this was deliberately planned to avoid all chances of friction between the Centre and the Provinces. This step has served its purpose. The British Government can no longer interfere in the interest of a Province against the Union Government, as the Union Parliament is supreme and can override provincial legislation.

### Muslim Fears

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that the Hindu majority in India, while it professes federalism, in reality desires a constitution of the Union Model. Its sole aim seems to be to make the Central Government supreme over the Provinces, to leave its sphere of activities undefined and to introduce a cabinet system of government which, on the basis of its numerical strength, may leave ultimately all power in its hands. In its desire for a unitary constitution, it has outstripped the Union Government in one important respect. In South Africa, the Upper House is represented in equal proportion by the four

*(Continued on page 10.)*

49B14 May 44

*Special Article*

# Religion and Education

*By* **S. M. YUSUF**

AS we have already pointed out, the proposition advanced by Prof. Jha is but an attempt to supplant religion by his own political views or rather to turn his political beliefs into religion and then to make education a mere instrument for foisting it one all and sundry. There is nothing strange in it; it is only another result of a tendency to run away from realities and to pursue the mirage of wild and impracticable ideals. This lack of honest realism is exhibited in numerous ways but the most conspicuous example of it, perhaps, is the futile effort to create a new artificial *lingua franca* for India which has only resulted in giving rise to disunity where unity already existed.

It will be realised, and Prof. Jha makes no secret of it, that his entire outlook is dominated by a desire to achieve a common nationalism for all the different peoples of this vast sub-continent. Common nationalism, however, demands certain prerequisites which must, of necessity, precede it in a natural way and not follow it in an artificial manner. In order to be real, it must of itself grow out of a number of historical, political, cultural and, of course, religious factors; it cannot be imposed just because a few intellectuals take fancy to it. The very fact that attempts are being made to create those prerequisites is an admission that they do not yet exist and the utter failure, rather, the adverse effect, of these attempts is a proof positive that the very nature and the climate of a sub-continent do not suit a plant which can only thrive in a little island or small countries. Has not Britain failed to absorb Ireland into a common nationalism?

## Wrong Approach

The lot of the Indian nationalist is miserable indeed. At every step he encounters stark realities which militate against the ideal that he has so fondly and slavishly borrowed in *toto* from the west. In his zeal he tries to hide the differences under attractive superstructures which, however, collapse even before they are complete, just because they rest on sands. This is an entirely and radically wrong approach.

The desire to remove the present ill-will between the different peoples of India is, no doubt, laudable, but the crux of the problem is how to do it? Would it not be more logical to have a fair estimate of the realities, to acknowledge boldly what is irrenconcilable and then to proceed to evolve an indigenous solution ensuring perfect freedom for all? Does it not offer a better prospect to allow the various elements to live happy and contented under many mansions, at the same time maintaining good neighbourly relations with each other?

Thus, we see that the political objective behind the so-called religious education, advocated by Prof. Jha, is exactly the same as envisaged by the champions of secular education. Both the schemes originated from a desire to circumvent the religious differences and a vain hope to pave the way for winning over the allegiance of the youth in favour of nationalism. As in the political so in the educational sphere, it is a sheer folly to seek to mould facts according to one's preconceived ideas rather than evolving one's ideal according to the realities of the situation. To approach the educational problem from the standpoint of a political ideal, which is itself a subject of controversy, is not only unjust but fraught with dangerous consequences.

## Islamic Ideal

Prof. Jha has, by implication, admitted that if a Muslim and a Hindu were taught the religion of Islam and Hinduism as they are, and not only the truths or moral precepts which may be common to them, then denominational institutions become a necessity rather than an anachronism. We have now only to see what the Islamic ideal of education is.

Islam has only laid down one broad basic principle which must be fully ensured in any system of education. Once that fundamental principle is ensured there is perfect freedom to formulate the details according to the necessities of time and clime. Islam is not concerned at all whether the educational system should have an academic or a vocational bias; all that it insists on is that it should have a definitely and essentially Islamic bias. It is here that we see that purely secular education which is asserted to be harmless constitutes the greatest harm to the Islamic ideal. To eschew religion from the educational system is only to destroy and to efface it and then of course the ground is cleared for the implanting of any 'ism' which may be indirectly dumped on the empty and ignorant minds of the youth.

## Motive Force

No doubt, Islam also needs spinners, scientists and technicians but only those who sre true Muslims too. A scientist and a technician who is not fired with a desire to devote all his talents and skill to the service of Islam is no better an asset than a learned doctor of Muslim theology whose only mission is to discredit Islam and to bring it into disrepute. Knowledge and skill, of whatever kind they be, must only have a secondary place; the primary concern should be the inculcation of a love of Islam as the motive force of all activitv.

If we only look at the development of Muslim arts and sciences we will find that the impetus to all academic, scientific and literary activity was provided only by a desire to vindicate Islam and to add to its glory. Thus the syllabus of Islamic institutions continued to expand and enlarge throughout the centuries so as to include the latest and the most up-to-date subjects, no matter whether they originated in Greece, Persia or any other country, but the nucleus of the whole system always remained the same, *i.e.*, the Quran and the Islamic teachings. Philosophy, Astronomy, Alchemy, etc., were all received and cultivated with an open mind but were all ultimately trimmed and harnessed to the service of Islam. This was not the result of prejudice or fanaticism, rather, it was the strength of conviction and intelligent appreciation of Islam that helped the Muslims to hold their own in the face of all impact of foreign ideas.

It will be seen that the principle enunciated above necessitates that no system of education can ever be acceptable to Muslims unless it includes a basic general course of Islamic studies. It must also be realised that the advocates of the fundamental truth of all religions labour under a serious misapprehension as to the implications of the word religion itself. At least, as far as Islam is concerned, religion does not signify merely a few commandments or a number of Do's and Don't's. Islam is a perfect code of life; hence it does not admit of any extraction or synthesis with any other religion. The *Quran* can never be replaced by Prof. Bhagwan Das's *Essential Unity of all Religions* for any Muslim youth. Further, as Islam covers all aspects of life, its education cannot be relegated to home corners as contemplated in the Wardha scheme. If a Muslim youth is to be brought up in the true Islamic spirit, a separate denominational institution is a necessity.

## No New Problem

Lest it be said that the above observations are only characteristic of the present-day separatist tendency of the Indian Muslims, we need only add that the problem is not a new one. It was so far back as 1903 that Mr. (now Sir Akbar) Hydari's advocacy of common institutions and his opposition to the establishment of the Muslim University made Maulana Mohammad Ali, Nawab Muhsinul Mulk and other leading Muslims spring on their feet till, in the words of Maulana Mohammad Ali himself, Sir Akbar had to change his ideas and to accept the trusteeship of the M. A. O. College and the membership of the Muslim University Court. Maulana Mohammad Ali's vehement denunciation of the idea of common institutions at the

*(Continued on page 10)*

*Special Article.*

# Who Is Responsible For Deadlock

## Muslim Position Explained

*By "OBSERVER"*

HIS Excellency the Viceroy has appealed to the Indian Political Parties to compose their differences and work together for the prosecution of the war. It is rather surprising that the Viceroy should have directed his appeal towards all the Indian Political Parties collectively, while there is none amongst them except the Congress which is not anxious to bridge the gulf and willing to work whole-heartedly for the defence of India.

Already the Princes have been fully co-operating because there stands no difficulty in their way. The scheduled classes, disorganised, as they are, are always prepared to side any one who is just and fair to them. There are 100 Million Musalmans, fully organised under the banner of the Muslim League, capable of not only expressing their national will but carrying it through. They had responded to the very first appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy.

### Muslim Offer

Mr. Jinnah, the accredited leader of Muslim India, had told the Viceroy just after the declaration of war that in case the Muslim leadership and the All-India Muslim League was taken into full confidence Muslim India would co-operate whole-heartedly with the Government in the war efforts. The League in its statement of September 18, 1939 had declared:

"If full, effective and honourable co-operation of the Musalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world to-day and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Musalmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India."

The League pointed out all the ways and means in the said statement whereby the required sense of security and satisfaction should be created among the Musalmans. This was followed by the Viceroy's declaration of October 18, 1939 in which His Majesty's Government emphatically repudiated the unfounded claim of the Congress that the latter alone represented the whole of India. His Majesty's Government also recognised the fact that the All-India Muslim League alone truly represented Muslim India and could speak on its behalf. The rights and interests of the minorities and other interests concerned were also recognised. But the Viceroy's statement fell short of the League's demand as embodied in its statement of September 18, 1939.

### The Demand

The working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, therefore, passed the following resolution on October 22, 1939, clarifying its previous demand:

"The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely to the details of the plans embodied in the Act of 1935 and the reconsideration thereof but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future constitution should be wholly examined and revised *de novo*. The Committee reiterate emphatically that no future plan of Indian Constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets their full approval".

But at the same time the Committee, fully appreciating the urgency of the matter, authorised the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to have the doubts removed and secure complete clarification of His Excellency's statements, and if the President was fully satisfied the Committee empowered him to give assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Muslims of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war.

### Importance

His Majesty's Government fully realised the importance of the League leaders' suggestion that unless the Central Government was constituted in such a manner as to command the confidence of the people, that effective support would not be forthcoming which the seriousness of the occasion and the situation demanded. They also recognised the existence of acute differences between the Congress and the League in the provincial matters which were being administered to the detriment of the Musalmans. The Viceroy interviewed leaders of various shades of opinion and lastly met Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Gandhi and B. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Congress, in a joint conference. The Viceroy made certain concrete proposals to the three leaders at the Conference, which were contained in his letter of November 2, 1939. The viceroy stated:

"The proposition which I invited you and the gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council".

### Mr. Gandhi's Evasion

Mr. Jinnah accepted the proposal of the Viceroy. But both Mr. Gandhi and B. Rajendra Prasad would not look at it and were not prepared even to discuss with the leader of the Muslim League the proposals for composing the differences that existed in an acute form between the Hindus and the Musalmans. In their letter of November 3, they wrote to the Viceroy as follows:—

"This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India .....It has pained us to find the communal question being dragged in this connection .....It has clouded the main issue".

"They went on insisting for the declaration of war aims in pursuance of the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee with a view to avoid the adjustment of Hindu Muslim relations in the Provincial sphere which was required for working together of the League and Congress representatives in the Centre.

This very much disappointed Mr. Jinnah who wrote to his Excellency the Viceroy:---

"I was imformed by them (Mr. Gandhi and B. Rajendra Prasad finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the provincial field or at the Centre until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, hence these two questions were not further discussed."

### Mr. Jinnah's Efforts

In the meantime Mr. Jinnah, who had a clear grasp of the internationnl situation and wanted the Muslims to take full share in the defence of India, continued his efforts to settle matters with the Viceroy. Accordingly the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolution on

# Muslim Position Explained

*(Continued)*

June 17, 1940 offering their full co-operating to the Government for the intensification of war efforts:---

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 19th of April 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League, is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, to the Press on the 27th of May 1940:---

### Statement

'Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.

'The Provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for, and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

*'Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues latter on, we were even willing as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.*

*'But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.*

*'A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.*

*'With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim Leadership – there are many ways of doing so and as confident friends seek our wholehearted co-operation? And we shall not fail'.*

### The Menace

"The Working Committee looks with alarm the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

"The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India, indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors, are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

### Satisfactory Basis

"The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis, and not province-wise, between the government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger; the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

"The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country real purpose will not be served by the Musalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions".

### Inadequate

The Viceroy made a declaration on August 8, 1940 on behalf of His Majesty's Government which is now known as the August Declaration. The League welcomed that part of the August Declaration which referred to the future constitution of India, and also endorsed the other part of the Declaration concerning the transitory period, as it was based on the principle which the Muslim League had urged upon the British Government. But the specific offer which the Viceroy had made to the League, viz, offering two seats in his Executive Council, was grossly inadequate to meet the very objects which had prompted the League to offer full co-operation. In the circumstances the League was constrained to reject the offer on the grounds given in their resolution of September 28, 1940 which is as follows:---

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in its meeting at Bombay on the 2nd of September 1940, after considering the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 14th of August 1940, addressed to the President, containing the specific offer regarding the proposed expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, had requested H. E. the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and authorised the President to seek further information and clarification, praticularly on the points set out in the resolutions before the Committee could deal with the offer. As a result of the communication of these resolutions to H. E. the Viceroy, he invited the President to meet him on the 24th of September and after full and free discussion of the points arising out of those resolutions, H. E. was pleased to send a formal reply dated the 25th of September 1940. After giving there most earnest and careful consideration to the whole matter, the Committee, notwithstanding their desire from the very beginning to help in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, regret that they are unable to accept the present offer for the following reasons:---

### Reasons

*(1) 'That the inclusion of only two representatives of the Muslim League in the proposed expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council, of which neither the total strength nor the number of additional members has so far been*

*(Continued on page 10)*

## RATES

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DELHI

*Sunday, December 21, 1941*


## PIOUS REGRETS

"I was anxious to secure for the expansion of my Government, and for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war, the support of great political parties", said His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on Monday last. But was he, really? We have known his anxiety, and his inclinations too. Did not the Muslim League, one of "the great political parties", offer co-operation and on terms perfectly intelligible and businesslike? Why was that hand of friendship rejected? Was it because in the absence of the Congress the rest of "the great political parties" did not count with the Viceroy? Or was it because he was not prepared to go forward unless all "the great political parties" came in? If the latter was the case, where was the need to expand his Council at all or to set up a Defence Council, which he is anxious to pass on as "National"? To turn down an offer of help on the ground —but without saying so—that the same did not come from the expected quarter is not the way of those who are really anxious for help. That only shows that the Rulers of India are out to appease one particular party—the Hindus, as represented by the Congress —even if that appeasement be at the cost of another party—the Muslims, as represented by the Muslim League. To prefer to go without any support at all, rather than have the support of other than your favourite party is anything but business or statesmanship. War effort or no war effort, what the Viceroy really seems anxious about is not to displease his favourite party, the Congress. Could appeasement be carried farther even by a Chamberlain? And he (the Viceroy) cannot conceal his "bitter disappointment" over Congressmen throwing down "so lightheartedly" the burden of government which they had "asked for and accepted". He is also well aware of "many regrets" which that decision of the Congress has since provoked. He hopes to see the day when governments "ready to use the immense powers and opportunities at their disposal" will be functioning in the "provinces which are still without a Ministerial Government". He may hope as he will, as everybody is at liberty to build castles even in the air, if he so chooses; but one thing at least, besides Death, is certain in this uncertain world. And that is, if he is not already "well aware" of the same, that Muslim India will resist, violently if necessary, any and all moves calculated to perpetuate their persecution or domination by the "bania," be he of the East or of the West.

# NOTES

### Constituent Assembly

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said that there was a lot of misunderstanding in regard to the Constituent Assembly and that he could not conceive of any valid opposition to that suggestion. So far as the Hindus are concerned it would serve their purpose all right. But it is too much to expect other peoples to endorse the proposal which is calculated to harm their vital interests.

The so-called Constituent Assembly would be composed of the entire heterogeneous elements of India's political life Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, scheduled classes, etc—all represented on the population basis. As all matters would be decided by majority of votes the Hindus alone, on account of their numerical superiority, would have the final say. It is, therefore, no use misleading Muslims and other peoples that the will of the majority would not prevail in certain matters.

The idea presupposes a free country. History does not afford an instance where a slave country has evolved its constitution through a Constituent Assembly. There is no guarantee that Great Britain would implement its decisions. Nor it is conceivable that if the Constituent Assembly decided for severance from the British Crown all Britishers would be withdrawn forthwith, leaving India to the several claimants—all Indians, of course. There is no use refusing to face realities and living in dreamland.

The idea is borrowed from the Constituent Assembly of the French Revolution. But the conditions prevailing in France were different from those prevailing then or now in India. France had one nation, while India has several—the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Dravidians, for example. There were no Hindus in France who coveted what belonged, in all fairness, to others; there were no Muslims whose forefathers had ruled the country for no less than nine hundred years and who now wanted to be masters of their homelands in the continent; there was no alien Government who, according to Pandit Nehru, had created "so many knots and tangles in India". The experiment did not prove a success in France. It accelerated the pace of revolution and brought untold misery upon the people. Is there any guarantee that the unfortunate history of France would not be repeated in India if the so-called Constituent Assembly went astray?

In the circumstances, would it not be advisable if the Indians sit together with clean conscience and settle matters among themselves instead of asking the British Government to convene for them a Constituent Assembly? But if that procedure must be adopted, why should there be only one and not several such assemblies? India is a Continent and, as such, every constituent country must have its own separate Constituent Assembly.

### An Overdue Expulsion

The expulsion of Mr. Fazlul Huq from the Muslim League was long overdue. But his acceptance of the leadership of the newly

*(Continued on next page)*

# NOTES

*(Continued)*

formed Progressive Party—a conglomeration of Mahasabhites, Congressites, a few misguided Muslims and others—precipitated matters. As usual, he tried to gain time to consolidate his position by reiterating his loyalty for the *th* time to the Muslim League and demanding an inquiry. But Mr. Jinnah, who had seen through the game, took prompt action; but not without giving him an opportunity to send in his explanation which he had none. By his gross misconduct Mr. Huq has harmed Muslim interests, especially in Bengal. He has created the Bengali and non-Bengali question. He has sold the Muslim majority of the province, in lieu of his nominal Premiership, to the Hindu minority there. It is for the Musalmans of India generally, and those of Bengal in particular, whom he had always used and now betrayed by robbing them of the full fruits of their majority, to make his public life an impossibility.

## A COMIC RESOLUTION

Criticising the resolution passed by the Congress members of the U. P Legislature under the presidentship of Mr. Govind Ballab Pant, the ex-Premier of U.P., at Lucknow on Sunday, December 7 last, and published in the Press on Tuesday following, Mr. M. Iqtidaruddin Hasan, M. L. A. (U.P.) says:

It is a typical instance of the most inconsistent, illogical and confused Congress mind. It came to me all the more as a surprise when I read in the Press that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had not only given his blessings to it but that he was its *de facts* author. Though completely under the thumb of the Congress Lord of Wardha, that so-called stout champion of socialism, Mr. Nehru was at least capable of clear thinking—so I had always thought. But the way in which the resolution has been drafted has completely disillusioned me in that regard.

A careful perusal of the resolution will show that it is composed of three parts. The first part is the customary Congress rebuke to the British for being an 'alien autocracy' and an 'external authority'. Mr. Nehru has, however, not told us what he expected the British authority in India to be. Though I can pretty well discern therein the under lying and real object of the Congress—namely, the passionate desire for establishing Hindu Raj in India in order to keep under their heels other nationalties, specially the Musalmans—I am not at the moment interested in that aspect of the resolution.

The second part is a lip sympathy with the sufferers in the present war, particularly with the peoples of Russia and China. This demonstration of sympathy is, of course, very liberal in its scope, in as much as the sympathy embraces both the aggressor and the aggrieved. The resolution on this point says: "This meeting sends its earnest sympathy to all who have suffered and are suffereing in this overwhelming catastrophe". On hearing of this sympathy Herr Hitler might well feel justified in directing his propaganda department to utter a few words in praise of the Indian Congress, as one might have sometimes heard Berlin Doing on the radio.

The third part of the resolution is an interesting admixture of hope and despair. It incorporates a process of curious reasoning. The opening paragraph of this part of the resolution entertains a pious hope that 'out of the destructive fire of war will emerge a better and juster order, founded on a world federation of free nations, in which complete freedom and equality of opportunity for all nations will be assured, domination of one country by another removed and all armed warfare for settling international disputes abolished.' In this connection one would like to know from the learned author of the resolution as to which party in the war—Hitler's party or his opponents—he wants to win, in order that such a state of things may be suddenly brought into existence. Perhaps he would never give a direct answer to this question. In any case he seems to be sure that out of the evil of armaments and its use some good is bound to come. Assuming, however, that the desired ideal state of things shall result from the 'armed warfare,' what other methods—which he has never told us—will the learned author of the resolution devise 'for settling international disputes'. Why wish for abolition of 'armed warfare' when it is such an unmixed blessing as to produce 'a better and juster order founded on a world federation of free nations'. One entirely fails to see how the two conflicting statements can possibly be reconciled. It will be remembered that his Chief of the High Command, Mr. Gandhi, had once advised Britain to lay down arms before Hitler; but British statesmen, who were yet repenting their policy of disarmament and did not consider themselves lunatic enough to follow such advice, declined it with thanks.

The concluding portion however, of this part of the resolution is nearer home as it refers to India. It reads: "The freedom of four hundred millions people of India is an essential ingredient of such an order and unless this is achieved, the old causes of war and conflict will remain and the people of India will continue to challenge every attempted solution. The policy of the British Government in regard to India has made it clear that it has no intention to give up its imperialist domination of India." It is here that the resolution betrays utter despair and promptly wipes out all hopes of a 'better and juster order founded on a world federation of free nations' emerging from the 'destructive fire of war.' Does the learned author of the resolution mean to say that his 'better and juster order' will emerge from the defeat of Britian and her allies? If he really does mean it, then his sympathy with Russia and China—the allies of Britain—will become meaningless. This amazing statement is just as much inconsistent and irreconcilable as any other in the resolution. This concluding portion of the resolution prescribes a condition precedent for that 'better and juster order' and that condition is the freedom of India before Mr. Nehru and his Congress colleagues would allow the better and juster order to prevail. Not only this, but he thinks that if

*(Continued on next page)*

## A COMIC RESOLUTION

*(Continued)*

freedom is not given to India he can manage to perpetuate the present world struggle, for he says: 'the old causes of war and conflict will remain and the people of India will continue to challenge every attempted solution'. As if, the failure to give freedom to India has been the cause of the present war. If that is his meaning, I can only say: Well done and well said, Mr. Nehru. This contention might perhaps be excellent material for some story book on dreamland, but it is by no means an appropriate thing for a political resolution. Again, a remarkably vague phrase used in this portion of the resolution is the statement that 'the people of India will continue to challenge every attempted solution'. I have honestly not been able to understand it at all. 'Solution' of what? Is it the solution of India's political problem or solution of some international problem? I can only guess that perhaps it means an opposition to the scheme of Pakistan, since the British Government have refused to disregard the interests of Muslim India and have promised to examine *de novo* the whole constitutional position after the war.

If such muddle-headedness and utterly chaotic thinking, as reflected in the aforesaid resolution, is the true index of the Congress brains, I am constrained to say that Congressmen have now come to their wits' end. Comparisons are odious, but any resolution of the Muslim League will be found far more sensible, practical, intelligible, logical and con-

*(Continued on next column.)*

# LETTERS

### Call To Womanhood

Sir—"The Call to Womanhood", as published in "The Dawn" of November 30 last is a timely call. It is time the Muslim women looked ahead and played their role in fulfilling the League ideals. The Muslim League has chalked out an inspiring ideal—the ideal of Muslim Solidarity and Pakistan. The Muslim women should not lag behind. They can certainly do a lot. Of course, their field is limited. The League ideals, to be fully implemented, will need the services and sacrifices of all, constituting the vast Muslim Nation in India. Our participation in the League activities are sure to inspire our male counter parts the more.

By her thoughtless action, one of our enlightened few, Begum Shah Nawaz, has put us to shame. May good sense dawn on her even now. I endorse your remarks in connection with something else, viz. that "admission of the mistakes committed is a healthy habit; readiness to rectify those mistakes is healthier". Will Begum Shah Nawaz make the desired amends? We shall feel happy if she does. It is never too late to mend.

Yours etc.
*Lahore.* K. Akhtar.

*(Continued from previous col.)*

sistent than the Congress resolution under discussion.

I must now end my observations on this comic resolution by saying that I never had the misfortune of perusing more errent nonsense than what is contained in the resolution.

### Delhi-Shahdara N. A. C.

Sir—It is felt with deep regret that in spite of several represantations, both in person and in writing, to fill in the second Muslim seat of a member lying vacant in the Delhi-Shahdara Notified Area Committee, since July, 1940, the matter has not had any response from the authorities and no action seems to have been taken. The public is viewing it with great concern and it has been felt that Muslim rights have intentionally been overlooked. There have been many more irregularities which will be brought to the public notice one by one.

Yours etc.,
*Delhi.* Muslims of Shahdara.

### Muslim Immigrants

Sir—I read with concern the news about the 3,000 destitutes appearing in the Dawn of December 7 last. They are generally described as robbers, which mistake has crept in, I believe, due to the fact that they are coming down from Kazzakistan (literally meaning, the country of robbers). It is worthwhile to make it clear that all in the Kazzakistan are not Kazzaks (robbers) just as all in Hindustan are not Hindus.

The traditions of hospitality which India has generally shown to all foreigners should be upheld. It is, therefore, suggested that uncultivated areas of land be allotted to them and they may be allowed to settle down peacefully. For that purpose, I hope, the Government of Bhopal, in consultation with the government of India, would allow them to settle down in the State forests.

Yours etc.,
*Bombay.* M. S. Hasan Gilani.

### Appearance of "The Dawn"

Sir—The Muslims of India had all these years need a press of their own through which to make their voice heard to the outside world. It is, therefore, a matter of gratitude that *The Dawn* has been started under the supervision of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as the spokesman of the Muslim nation in India. Mr. Jinnah has accomplished so much in spite of little encouragement from the Muslims. Now it is for every member of the nation not only to keep this paper alive but to give it so much solid support and backing that it may be possible, at no distant date, to make it a standard daily. Thus a part of our national wealth which we spend in purchasing the papers controlled by the Hindus or the Europeans will remain with us. Let every Musalman who can understand the English language and who can afford to spare one pice daily or a paltry sum of two annas a week become a regular subscriber of *The Dawn*. This can easily be done through the support and help of the present readers of the paper. Every reader should take it upon himself to make two other subscribers in a week's time. The office-bearers of the Muslim League Committees should try to persuade local newspaper agents to take the agency of *The Dawn*, failing which one of the members of the League at every place must take the agency till further arrangement, so that the growth of the paper may be effected without impediment. I hope the readers of *The Dawn* will take this appeal to heart.

Yours etc.,
*Aligarh.* Aftab Husain.

# PRESS

### Mr. Huq's Defection

Commenting on the defection of Mr. Fazlul Huq the *Asra Jadid* of Calcutta says:—

In short Mr. Huq has done what a Muslim ought not to have done in anv circumstance whatsoever—trying to break Muslim solidarity only to please the Hindus. We are well aware that the Hindus are very loud in their praise of Mr. Huq because he has handed over to them the governance of Bengal. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, who had taken a great part in opposing the Pakistan scheme and who has often said: "India belongs to Hindus", is now an ally of Mr. Huq. Although Mr. Huq has not been able to tell us the broad principles upon which he wants to unite the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal, but it is quite evident that the alleged principle is to remain a puppet in the hands of the Hindus in lieu of some prize posts.—*Asra Jadid*, Calcutta.

### The Last Hope

Commenting on the statement of Mr. M. N. Roy in which he had advised Hindu leaders to think over the Pakistan scheme coolly, the *Sarosh* of Bombay says:

The Muslim League has not put forward the Pakistan scheme with intent to create chaos or scheme confusion in the continent of India. On the contrary the scheme is intended to bring harmony and peace and is no doubt the best solution of the Indian problem. The main object is that both the Hindus and the Muslims may be able to live an honourable and independent life in their own spheres and that they may thrive according to their own lights, unmolested by the other.

Pakistan will set at rest the communal wrangle in the continent. Those Hindu leaders who have been dreaming of Hindu Raj are doing positive disservice to India by opposing the Pakistan scheme, thereby destroying the last hope of a settlement.—*Sarosh*, Bombay.

### No Room for Traitors

Commenting on the expulsion of Mr. Huq the *Haque* of Lucknow says:

By expelling Mr. Huq from the League for an indefinite period Mr. Jinnah has proved that there is no room in the organisation for traitors who are amenable to sacrifice national interests for their personal benefits. Indeed, Mr. Jinnah deserves congratulation for that step which has once again established that the Muslim League is a powerful organisation and that it does not exist upon some individuals. We appeal to the Bengal Muslims to prove, by organising the League in every village of the province, that the treachery of Mr. Fazlul Huq or, for that matter, of any other Muslim traitor, would not adversely affect the power and prestige of the League. The Bengal Muslims have to afford yet another instance of their awakening by throwing Mr. Huq off the Government—*Haque*, Lucknow.

## Jinnah: A Study in Greatness

*By* **Habib F. Merchant**

Contemporary life in India is studded with a wealth of great and brilliant lives, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah being one of the most outstanding and certainly the greatest in Muslim India. By sheer dint of ability and character he has made himself the undisputed leader of the Muslims and is affectionately called QA'ID-E-AZAM.

The personality of Mr. Jinnah has dominated the public life of India for the last 35 years and his career is full of many brilliant achievements But the grandest of them all was when in the recent momentous crisis which faced the League, threatening it with disruption, he uncompromisingly stood up for the League as the only representative and authoritative body of the Musalmans, and by his remarkable statesmanship achieved triumph both for himself and the League. The courage displayed won the greatest admiration, and even his opponents were constrained to remark that Mr. Jinnah is nothing if not courageous. Courage, fearlessness instense faith in himself, sincerity, tremendous self-respect and dignity are some of the dominant traits of his character.

#### Character

Character transcends circumstanes, forsooth character is destiny, and if ever this saying was proved it is in the case of Jinnah. His greatness is neither an accident nor a fortuitous event, but is the result of a great character, for greatest is merely a concomitant of a great character. Muslim youths, who dream of achieving greatness, should take a lesson from the life of this great man. Just as Napolean did not have the word "Impossible" in his dictionary so also Jinnah has no such word as "Fear" in his.

My searching mind was charmed by his defiant dignity and "I am the Monarch of all I survey" attitude. He abhors oily pose of pseudo-modesty and mock humility.

Whatever may be the political differences, his adversaries have acknowledged his extreme sincerity of purpose and selfless work. There is not a single instance in his long and singularly brilliant career when he has over compromised his ideals or sacrificed his independence for the sake of personal gain and self advancement. He has shunned successfully and courageously and, of course, with disdain, the two demoralising and corrupting influences—titles and appointments. We see the unedifying spectacle of men hankering after titles and appointments, no matter at what price. But away from this nauseating scene we see a compelling sight—Jinnah standing aloof, irrepoachable.

#### Realist

Mr. Jinnah is a realist first and foremost. The great good he has done is in saving politics from being clouded over confused and confounded by metaphysics and moonshine. He is no doctrinnaire, he is no visionary, and he has striven most to keep politics on a practical plane. When the Congress under Mr. Gandhi's influence adopted the abstruse creed of *Ahimsa* and the cult of *Charkha*, Mr. Jinnah left that party where he was one of the most respected leaders, and joined the Muslim League whose destiny he has now guided for the last 25 years with such consummate skill and untiring zeal. Such is this remarkable man, who wherever he is he cannot help finding himself.

The same passion for freedom and liberty which was the guiding star of Mr. Jinnah's political ability in the beginning of his public life moves him today when he has put forward his present solution of Indian political problem based on division of the country, with the solid and unanimous support of the Muslims of India. Mr. Jinnah's realism, keen sense of understanding and remarkable insight, with varied and long experience of public life, have made him realise that the Hindus and the Muslim are really two separate people and despite the fact that the fates have thrown them together in one sub-continent and notwithstanding the centuries

*(Continued on page 10)*

# Muslim Position Explained

*(Continued)*

*definitely determined, does not give any real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre.*

*(2) 'That no indication has been given as to what would be the position of the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to assist in the prosecution of the War, and the Government agreeing to associate it with the Executive Council, which may involve a substantial modification and reshuffling of the Executive,*

*(3) 'That so far, the Government do not propose to appoint non-official advisors in those provinces which are being administered by the Governors, under Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935. The Committee feel that without the association of the Muslim League representatives in the administration of those provinces it will not be possible to secure real and effective co-operation of the Musalmans.*

*(4) 'That the proposed War Advisory Council is yet in embryo and no information is available as to its constitution, composition and functions, except that it will probably consist of about 20 members and that the question of setting it up will be considered after expansion of the Executive Council is complete.*

*(5) 'That out of the various points raised in the resolution of the Committee, of the 2nd of September, only one relating to panel has been satisfactorily met."*

### Not Wanted

It is, therefore, quite evident that the British Government do not want the real co-operation and support of the Musalmans of India as equal partners in a common danger.

The attitude of the Congress has been consistently opposed to the Muslim interests. They refused to negotiate with the League as regards the Hindu-Muslim question; they tried to throw into the back ground the Muslim demands by their insistence on the declaration of war aims without the consent and approval of the Musalmans; they created a consitutional crisis in the country by withdrawing the Congress ministeries; they wanted to establish a so-called national Government at the Centre exactly with the same object in view, and lastly they started the Civil disobedience after the August declaration to coerce the British Government to concede the Congress demand which is opposed to the vital interests of the Musalmans, under the pretext of freedom of speech.

### League Willingness

As against this attitude of the Congress the League has always been prepared to negotiate with it. In his speech in the Central Assembly Mr. Jinnah, addressing the Congress Party, had said: "why not you and I meet and put our heads together. If you make a practical proposition we present a united demand to Mr. Amery or, for the matter of that, to the British parliament, or the British nation, if you like". But there was no response from the Congress. Mr. Jinnah was prepared to negotiate with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and later on with Mr. Gandhi at the instance of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but both the Hindu leaders avoided it.

Now what does His Excellency the Viceroy want the Muslim League to do? They have never refused to co-operate with the Government in the defence of India nor to negotiate with the Congress for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim question.

The appeal should have been more appropriately addressed to the Congress which does not recognise the existence of various nationalities in the Sub-Continent of India and desires the rule of only one community—the Hindus—over the whole of the Indian continent. It should have been addressed also to the British Government which have been constantly rejecting the Muslim offer of co-operation for fear of the Congress or for some other reason known to them alone. Muslims are ready willing to give their all for the defence of the country and for successful prosecution of the war as equal partners in the common cause. But as a self-respecting nation they cannot accept the position of camp-followers.

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### British Cruiser Sunk

An admiralty *communique* states that "H.M.S. *Dunedin* (Captain R. S. Lovatt, O.B.E., R.N.), has been torpedoed in the Atlantic by a U-boat and has sunk.

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### A Study In Greatness

*(Continued from page 9)*

that have since rolled by, they have remained separate and unmingled, like two streams running parallel. Let the two be separated, so as to run their life unhampered and unimpeded.

A united India necessarily postulates a Central Government and the Central Government, of whatever type, must be dominated by the Hindus. The Pakistan scheme is based on the truth of more than one nation inhabitting this continent. It gives an opportunity to both the Hindus and the Muslims to realise their ideal of nationhood. In it both the people can grow into full height of nationhood, each according to its own genius, culture, tradition and religion.

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### Consent Essential To Unity

*(Continued from page 2)*

provinces which make up the Union, irrespective of their population, whereas in India, the principle or representation on population basis is still conceived to be as the only way of returning the Upper House. The Indian Muslims are naturally nervous that the proposed scheme of federal government will neither afford their protection in the two houses of theCentral Legislature where they will be in a minority nor in their majority Provinces which will be reduced to mere administrative areas of the Centre in due course. They justly fear that with a dominant voice in the federal government, the supreme control of the vital organs of a national state, such as Finance Communications and Defence, will become a permanent Hindu monopoly and, with the overwhelming power and influence thus obtained, the Centre will dominate over the Provinces and the scheme of provincial autonomy will become a mere farce.

### Soviet Far East Manoeuvres

Large-scale Russian military manoeuvres with troops and full equipment are taking place in the Far East, states the Chungking Radio quoting a broadcast from a Soviet Radio station received via the Manila Radio station.

### Religion and Education

*(Continued from page 3)*

session of the Bombay Provincial Educational Conference, held at Ahmadabad in 1904 (*vide* also 'Mazamine Mohammad Ali, Vol. 1. P. 422) is enough to prove that the Muslims had pronounced a clear, considered and final verdict on the question at that distant date. Since then the efforts of ths Muslim educationists were all directed towards the establishment and fostering of separate institutions.

The foundation of the Jamia Millia Islamia at a time when, under the stress of common political struggle, mutual goodwill between the various peoples was as its zenith, and at the hands of those who can never be accused of a separatist or disruptionist tendency, conclusively proves that the Muslims were clearly determined not to yield in this respect. It must not be forgotten that, as envisaged by its founders, the Jamia, whose Principal received many a bonquet at the Srinagar Conference, was to be a long way ahead of the Muslim University towards the Islamic ideal. In the Muslim University religious education was and it still is, only an appendage of western education, while in the Jamia it was to be the nucleus of all other education and, as the very name indicates, devotion to *millat* the first and the foremost ideal.

### Guarantee of Peace

In conclusion, we wish to assure the champions of communal harmony, with all the emphasis at our command, that so far as the Muslims are concerned, it can only be achieved through true Islamic education. Islam in itself is a guarantee of peace and harmony because it inculcates respect for the susceptibilities of others. If the Muslims have only the freedom to live according to their own ideals, goodwill is bound to follow immediately as a necessary corollary.

*(Concluded)*

## C. P. League Council Meets

### 30,000 Members Enrolled

The Central Provinces Muslim League Council held their annual meeting at Hinganghat on December 14 last, with Khan Saheb Syed Yasin, M. L. A. in the chair. Mr. S. A. Rauf Shah, Mr. Mohammad Asghar, Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman Khan and Mr. Abdul Sattar Khan were unanimously elected President, General Secretary, Publicity Secretary and Office Secretary respectively. Representatives for the All-India Council and delegates for the annual session were also elected.

Resolutions supporting Mr. Fazlul Huq's expulsion, demanding Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan's release and condemning Amraoti riots and sympathising with the sufferers, were adopted.

The decision of the All-India Muslim League regarding the Viceroy's expanded Council, the so-called National Defence Council and the Islamic countries and the recommendations of the Provincial League Presidents and Secretaries Conference were endorsed.

By other resolutions communal spirit in the Government services of the province was deplored, Allama Mashriqi's release was demanded, Mr. Aney's speech at Akola regarding Berar was condemned, a strong protest was lodged against the Sunday News of America publishing insulting remarks about the Holy Prophet and an earnest appeal was made for making the session of the A. I. Muslim Students Federation a complete success.

Satisfaction was expressed over the Muslim League

*(Continued on next column)*

## MUSLIM LEAGUE WEEK

### December 19-26

### Qa'id-e-Azam's Birthday To Be Celebrated

In pursuance of the resolutions of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League the latter Presidency Muslim League has decided to celebrate the Muslim League Week throughout that Presidency from Friday, December 19 to Thursday, December 26 next. The Madras Presidency League has, therefore, directed the District and Primary Leagues in the Presidency to observe the week in a fitting manner and to hold meetings in during the period in various places and mohallas, villages and towns, explaining to the people the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, and to take necessary steps to push forward the constructive programmes of the League for the purpose of the uplift of the Musalmans.

The Madras Presidency Muslim League have also directed the District and Primary Leagues in their jurisdiction to celebrate the birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah on Thursday, December 25, by holding public meetings on that day and passing resolutions felicitating the Qa'id-e-Azam on the happy occasion.

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*(Contd. from previous col.)*

propaganda in the province and it was announced that 30,000 members had already been enrolled and that 150 branches organised in 21 districts.

### Release Allama Mashriqi

### Bihar Muslim League Demand

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League met on Sunday, December 14 last, and adopted the following resolutions :

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League draws the attention of the Government of India once again to the prolonged and indefinite detention without trial of Allama Mashriqi, particularly at a time when not only India but the whole world is passing through a very critical stage and specially when a large number of Congress detenus and prisoners are being released; this meeting impresses upon the Government of India that Allama Mashriqi's detention is causing great concern not only to the members of the Khaksar organisation but to the Musalmans generally. In view of the changed situation this meeting urges upon the Government of India to release Allama Mashriqi without delay.

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League directs all its branches to immediately get a similar resolution passed and intimate the same to the Government of India.

A Muslim League Party, consisting of all the members of the Muslim League, be formed in the Legislature and information of the same and the names of the members forming the said group be immediately given to the Secretary, through the President Bihar Provincial Muslim League. Further, the Secretary be directed to send a copy of the resolution to all the members of the Muslim League in the Legislature for compliance.

## CONGRESS CONDEMNED

### Creating Dissensions among Moslems

A resolution condemning the policy of the Congress in creating dissensions and disunity among Moslem ranks in the Moslem majority provinces, was adopted by the Karachi District Muslim League Conference on Tuesday night. The Raja of Mahmudabad presided. The resolution gave instances of Bengal, Assam and Sind provinces and warned the Congress to desist from such efforts.

Another resolution condemned the "treacherous conduct" of the Bengal Premier against the Muslim League and Indian Moslems and appealed to Moslems not to be influenced by any personality, howsoever great, in its national and political struggles. The conference assured Bengal Moslems that the whole of Moslem India would support them in their fight against "reaction and treachery."

A third resolution adopted by the conference prayed for the long life of Mr. Jinnah so that he might guide the Moslems of India who were ever ready to make any sacrifices for the attainment of Pakistan. The conference requested Mr. Jinnah not to consider any offer of compromise based on the theory of a united India but to carry on ceaseless efforts till Pakistan was achieved.

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### Indians Evacuated

Ninety Indian nationals evacuated from Shanghai have arrived in Manila on the *Anhui* and are being looked after there, according to reports received in New Delhi.

# PARTING MESSAGE OF Nawab S. A. Khan

## C. P. MUSLIMS PROTEST AGAINST ARREST

In his parting message to the Muslims of the Central Provinces, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Central) at the time of his arrest on December 11 last, said:

"I had been released from Amraoti Jail last year on December 13 and again I am going to jail this year on December 11. This time I have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules in connection with a speech I delivered about Iran. I am not at all sorry for this arrest, for I have the satisfaction of following the lead given by the All-India Muslim League. I am, no doubt, sorry that at a time when our beloved Qa'id-e-Azam is coming to Nagpur, I will not be there to receive him.

"I appeal to the Muslims of the province to make the session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation a success and to celebrate enthusiastically the birthday of the Qa'id-e-Azam on December 25 next.

"I charge the Muslims to remain united in my absence and to maintain the dignity of the Muslim League.—*Khuda Hafiz.*"

A mass meeting of about 10,000 Musalmans was held under the auspices of the City Muslim League, at Mominpura Maidan, Nagpur, on December 11 last. Mr. Ibrahim Khan, Vice-President, presiding. Mr. Raza Ismail appealed for funds for the session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation. Mr. Ahfazur Rahim and Mr. Riyazuddin Ahmad spoke protesting against the arrest of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan.

### Mass Meeting

The meeting passed a resolution, congratulating Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan for having followed the lead given by the All-India Muslim League and assured him that in his absence the work of the Muslim League would be continued with the fullest dignity and honour and that the session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation would be made successful.

By another resolution the meeting recorded its protest on the arrest of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan who, according to them, was being sent to jail for his actions which he was continuously doing in the interests of the Musalmans and which were not appreciated by some officials."

### Jinnah Day On Dec. 25

All the Districts and Primary Muslim Leagues in the Bombay Province have been directed by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, to celebrate December 25, the birthday of Qa'id-e-Azam Jinnah as the "Jinnah Day" by holding public meetings, explaining the policy (including the Pakistan Scheme) aims and objects of the Muslim League to the Muslim public and also explaining and carrying out the following constructive programme:

1. Cottage industries should be promoted and encouraged and stores should be established at Central places on co-operative basis.

2. The Muslims should use *Garha* made by Musalmans on all occasions of festivity and mourning, so that due impetus may be given to the *Garha* manufacture.

3. Night Schools should be opened in order to spread adult education.

4. Un-Islamic ceremonies should be given up and discouraged.

5. No loans on interest be taken for marriage and funeral ceremonies.

6. The use of intoxicants and gambling should be checked.

7. The true spirit of brotherhood, based on the Islamic conception of equality and fraternity, should be infused among those Muslims who have adopted the Un-Islamic view of caste, based on profession, and occupation.

*(Continued on next column.)*

### Air Raid Test: "A Failure"

In order to test the "air-raid-mindedness" of the citizens of Calcutta, an air-raid warning was sounded at about 5 in the afternoon on Thursday. According to the Commissioner of Police, the test was a "complete failure on the part of the public." The street were thronged with pedestrians, who made no attempt to take cover or carry out any of the instructions issued earlier for observance by the public.

"In an actual raid," the Commissioner adds, "the results of this are likely to be disastrous and casualties would be heavy even as a result of our gunfire."

### Art Treasures Removed

The art treasures in the Victoria Memorial, numbering about 4,000, moved to a place of safety, according to a plane previously sanctioned by the Central Government.

### U.S. Steamer Strikes Mine

Five hundred persons lost their lives when the Philippine Inter-Island steamer "Corregidor" blew up on a mine near Manila Bay on Wednesday.

### M. U. U. Vice-President

Mr. Shakir Husain Khan, B. A., (Alig.), till lately Secretary of the Muslim University Union and Joint Secretary of the University Muslim League, has been elected unopposed as Vice-President of the Union. The backing which the Muslim League enjoys in the University circles is so overwhelming that no other candidate offered himself for election.

*(Continued from previous col.)*

8. Panchayats should be established in order to settle ordinary disputes so that people may not suffer unnecessary monetary loss by going to law-courts.

9. Muslims should be persuaded to take to Commerce and Industry.

10. Full interest should be taken in all the schemes of rural uplift and progress.

# Axis Forces In Full Retreat

## British Advance In Libya

It was officially announced on Thursday that Axis forces in Eastern Cyrenaica were in full retreat and that after five days of intensive fighting the enemy's front had everywhere been broken.

General Rommel is attempting to withdraw from Gazala but the Allied forces are pressing him hard and pursuing his troops, according to authoritative circles in London.

### Soviet Advance Continues

The Russian advance continues very successfully, it was authoritatively stated in London on Thursday. There is no indication as to where the Germans might plan to stabilize their line--it might not be left to the Germans to decide. It is difficult to see how the Nazis can support their claim that they are retreating in order to shorten their line.

# TURKEY CALM

## Reaction to Bulgar Situation

The Turks are still calm about the Bulgar situation. It is admitted that the German withdrawal in Russia may free many divisions for the elsewhere, but the Turks are not worrying till they have received concrete proof of the arrival of German mechanized armoured divisions in Bulgaria, of which at present there is no sign. This does not mean that the Turks are not taking precautions; the extended term with the colours will shortly be three years, while generally the defence preparations continue apace. The civilian calm at Ankara and Istanbul is striking.

The mobilization of a large number of men has naturally created economic difficulties, the latest of which is the rise in the price of bread to 16 kurus per kilo pound from 12.5, while other foodstuffs are also dearer.

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